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THE ROLE OF SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY

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The Role of Socialist Consciousness in the Development of Soviet Society

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INTRODUCTION

The question of the role socialist consciousness plays in the development of Soviet society must be examined in conjunction with the broader and more general problem of the laws and motive forces of the development of Socialism.

The victory of the socialist system and the new laws and motive forces of development inherent in it, have once again confirmed the most important postulate of historical materialism that social laws bear an historical character, that every economic formation of society has its own specific laws of development.

Lenin said that every historical period has its own laws. The truth of this postulate has been proved today not only in theory, on the basis of a study of the experience of the past, but also

in practice, on the basis of the experience of the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The social laws to which the historical, social activities of men are subordinated, change with the change in the mode of production of material wealth, which is the real basis of every form of society. The most general laws of development of economic formations of society which Marx discovered, and which he classically formulated in his celebrated preface to the *Critique of Political Economy,* manifest themselves in a special way in each form of society in conformity with the historical nature of the mode of production characteristic of that society.

The victory of Socialism led to the abolition of class antagonism and to a radical change in the very nature of social development, to the abolition of everything connected with the antagonistic nature of social relationships. Naturally, under Socialism, the general laws of historical development manifest themselves differently from the way they have manifested themselves in all previous history. Here, the relation between politics and economics, the role of the state in social life, undergoes a radical change, and the relation between spontaneity and consciousness changes too.

Social consciousness has always been a reflection of society's material conditions of exist-

ence, a reflection of the conditions of life of the different classes in society. In socialist society too, the consciousness of men is a reflection of their social life. In the development of socialist society, however, consciousness plays a different role from that which it played in all the forms of society that preceded Socialism. Under Socialism, the role of consciousness in social life not only grows quantitatively; it also acquires a different quality; the very relation between spontaneity and consciousness in historical development undergoes a radical change.

On the whole, in the entire past history of mankind, men were ruled by elemental forces and laws. Mankind learned quite long ago to subordinate to its power, to its will, the elemental forces of nature. Becoming cognizant of the laws of nature, utilizing them, men subordinated nature to their power, compelled its forces and laws to serve them. But while extending the limits of their power over nature men remained impotent in face of the elemental forces of social life, of the spontaneously operating laws of social development, which to them seemed to be more mysterious and mystical than the laws of operation of atmospheric electricity, or the forces that called forth volcanic eruptions or earthquakes, had seemed to the savage.

It was Marxism-Leninism alone that tore the veil of mystery, mysticism and fetishism from bourgeois social relationships and disclosed the real nature of capitalism, its contradictions, its laws of motion. Marxism-Leninism alone showed mankind the ways and means of abolishing capitalism and of controlling the laws of its own actions, the laws of social life, in the same way as it is controlling many of the laws of nature.

Socialist society marks the opening of a new era in world history, in which men, freed from class oppression, become masters of their own relationships.

In the past, it was only for short periods, i.e., in periods of revolution, that the spontaneous development of society gave way to the conscious action of the masses who were making their history. It was only with the victory of the socialist revolution that the conscious actions of millions of working people acquired decisive importance in social life, in the development of society.

Under Socialism, for the first time in history, the most progressive consciousness, i.e., socialist consciousness, and its vehicle the great Soviet people led by the Communist Party, achieved a decisive victory over spontaneity in social life, subordinated the operation of social laws to their

power. This was a great leap out of the realm of blind necessity into the realm of freedom. The history of mankind has no record of anything more magnificent.

At one time, when bourgeois society was in its youth, its apostles sang hymns in praise of human reason, by which they actually meant the limited reason of the bourgeoisie. Today, when the bourgeoisie is entangled in the net of contradictions of capitalist society, when its reason is incapable of grasping the secret of social laws, when it is standing impotent in face of the operation of the forces which it itself has called into being, it, and its ideologists, are cursing reason, are lauding mysticism, intuition, the "subconscious," and are waging a desperate struggle against "dangerous thoughts."

Against this gloomy background of bourgeois society, with its corrupt and decaying culture, its mysticism, marasmus, human degradation and the spurning of reason, there shines like the sun the Land of Socialism, where human reason, the reason of the Communist Party, armed with the most profound scientific knowledge of social laws, directs the activities of millions who are consciously moulding their present and their future.

I

THE SPONTANEOUS CHARACTER OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY

At first sight it may seem that the most characteristic feature of social development in all times has been its consciousness and expediency. In external nature, blind, elemental forces operate, there is no consciously desired aim; in society, on the contrary, always and everywhere, people operate, people endowed with reason, consciousness and will. People have always set themselves some aim, and have always fought to achieve it.

This gave rise to the illusion that it was the conflict of ideas, aims, strivings and ideals that is the determining force in social development, that it is in this conflict that the decisive cause of historical events must be sought.

This illusion was utilized by idealism in its struggle against the materialist, scientific conception of social development. The idealistic, illusory, perverted view of history, of social life, of the development of society, acquired the firmness of a prejudice in the minds of bourgeois historians, sociologists and economists.

But this view of history and of social life is false at the root. It takes as the basis for the explanation of social, historical events, only what comes to the surface of social life, and it is unable to penetrate to the substance of the social-historical process.

Actually, as Marxism has proved, the most characteristic feature of past historical development, up to the epoch of Socialism, has been spontaneity, the rule of the blind, elemental laws of the development of society over men.

Social relationships between men took shape spontaneously. The transition to new forms of society was prepared not by the deliberate and conscious actions of men, but spontaneously, unconsciously, and independently of men's will. This happened, firstly, because every new generation found ready-made productive forces and relations of production that had been created before it. Secondly, when introducing changes in the instruments of labour, when developing the productive forces, people did not realize to what social results these changes would lead. Spontaneity rules over men in societies that are based on the private ownership of the means of production, because, in such societies, the interests and strivings of people come into conflict, the jungle law of "all against all" necessarily prevails; all the people cannot have a common

aim, a common plan, a common will, because society is split up into classes having irreconcilably antagonistic interests.

In all spontaneously developing societies, the consciousness of men usually did not, and could not, go beyond the understanding of the interests of everyday life. Guided precisely by these interests, the people in primitive society, gropingly, gradually, in the course of thousands of years, passed from crude stone tools to iron tools. They did not know, did not realize, that thereby they were preparing the ground for an immense social revolution, that they were opening the door for slavery. Capitalism, too, arose spontaneously, on the basis of the development of simple commodity production. The latter spontaneously engendered capitalism and the bourgeoisie on a mass scale as a result of the operation of the laws inherent in commodity production. In passing from handicraft to manufacture, the bourgeoisie, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did not realize to what social and political consequences this change in the mode of production would lead. They only wanted to increase the output of commodities, to capture the market, and to make bigger profits.

Under capitalism, spontaneity in the development of society reaches its highest pitch. Economic life is transformed into an arena of fierce com-

petition. The more organized production becomes within each capitalist enterprise, the more anarchy rages within capitalist society as a whole.

The greater the successes people achieve in developing the productive forces, in subjugating the forces of nature, the more the wealth of capitalist society increases, the greater is the poverty of the millions of working people who create this wealth.

The development of capitalism means the development and intensification of its contradictions and antagonisms. The relative equilibrium between demand and supply, between society's purchasing power and the dimensions of production, and also the relative equilibrium between the different branches of production, are constantly disturbed and restored violently and spontaneously by means of overproduction crises, by the destruction of created wealth and of productive forces.

During the periodical crises, capitalist society is reduced to a state of barbarism, as it were. At such times, the senselessness of the anarchic, antagonistic and historically obsolete capitalist system becomes more glaring than ever. Even the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are obliged to admit this today.

The American economist Stuart Chase, in his book *Goals for America*, depicting the economic crisis in the U.S.A. in 1929-33, the colossal in-

crease in unemployment, poverty, hunger and degradation, writes that there were no physical reasons whatsoever for this distress. "No famines, crop failures, droughts or storms have overwhelmed us. No armed invaders are upon us. There stand the farms, the factories, transport lines, power centres, as strong as ever, ready to be used to produce as much as in 1929, and more. There stand the people, in dire want of the commodities and services they have stopped producing. It is like a farmer with fields full of ripe crops, who comes into the kitchen and tells the family there is no more to eat. Such a man would wind up in a state hospital."

No disaster caused by the elemental forces of nature can compare with the distress inflicted on mankind by the elemental forces of capitalism and of its vehicle, the bourgeoisie. Today, crisis is again knocking at the gates of the citadel of capitalism—the U.S.A.

"Under capitalism the even economic growth of individual enterprises, or individual states, is impossible. Under capitalism, there are no other means of restoring the periodically disturbed equilibrium than crises in industry and wars in politics."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works,* Two-Vol. ed., Vol. I, Moscow 1947, p. 618.

The elemental laws of capitalist society are beyond the control of men; they stand in relation to men as an external, coercive, alien, hostile, blind force. All the attempts of leading members of the bourgeoisie to bring these forces under their control, to create so-called "planned economy," have ended, and will always end, in failure.

The attempts to "plan" capitalist economy express the desire of bourgeois politicians to overcome the growing inherent contradictions of capitalism and, at the same time, are an indirect admission of the social nature of present-day productive forces, which have outgrown the restricted framework of capitalist relations of production, of capitalist private property. The present-day gigantic social productive forces and the private ownership of the means of production are incompatible. Anarchy, antagonism, crises, the destruction of already created productive forces, the menace of new imperialist wars and growing distress among the working people, among the millions of common people, will continue until the contradiction between the social character of production and private appropriation is removed.

The economic basis of capitalism also determines the character of all social relationships: the relations between individuals, between the

proletariat and the bourgeoisie, relations between nations, the character of home and foreign politics, and the character of the ideology of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois ideologists, the bourgeois economists, even the best of them in the most flourishing period of capitalism, have been unable to grasp the true nature of the capitalist mode of production and of capitalist society. They have been prevented from doing so by their class interests, by their class narrow-mindedness, which caused them to regard an historically transitional form of society as an eternal, natural, superhistorical form. Owing to their bourgeois narrow-mindedness, they have been unable to discern the relation between men that exists behind the relation between things, between commodities. Like all the agents of capitalist production, the bourgeois ideologists are in the power of commodity fetishism; they endow things, the products of human action, with supersensitive, mystical properties.

The bourgeois ideologists apply this fetishist, perverted view that is characteristic of capitalist society, to the entire world of social relationships: to the relation between economics and politics, economics and law, being and consciousness. Bourgeois ideology presents these relationships in a perverted, topsy-turvy way. And the

further the development of capitalism proceeded along its historical course, the more it revealed its inherent contradictions, the more the bourgeoisie became entangled in these contradictions and the more perverted became the picture of capitalist society that was painted by bourgeois "science," by bourgeois ideology, and the more it dropped into mysticism.

While the very nature of capitalism is anarchic and excludes the possibility of consciously influencing the course of the economic life of bourgeois society, the perverted bourgeois consciousness which paints an illusory, distorted picture, undoubtedly helps to intensify this spontaneity, chaos and contradictoriness of the whole of social life.

Tracing the course of spontaneously developing society, Frederick Engels pointed out that here, that which is willed happens but rarely, "... in the majority of instances the numerous desired ends cross and conflict with one another, or these ends themselves are from the outset incapable of realization or the means of attaining them are insufficient. Thus the conflicts of innumerable individual wills and individual actions in the domain of history produce a state of affairs entirely analogous to that prevailing in the realm of unconscious nature. The ends of the actions are intended, but the results which

actually follow from these actions are not intended; or when they do seem to correspond to the end intended, they ultimately have consequences quite other than those intended."*

To illustrate this we will refer to the events of recent years which are still fresh in people's minds. Was it only the imperialists of fascist Germany and Japan, and their allies, who deliberately organized and unleashed the Second World War with the object of achieving world domination, who miscalculated the results of this war? No! The ruling classes of Great Britain and the United States miscalculated too. Owing to their class hatred of the U.S.S.R., they could never properly calculate and appraise its economic, political and military might. Nor could they appraise and foresee the strength and importance of the liberating antifascist movement of the masses of the people that developed in the course of the Second World War. These forces introduced important "amendments" to the strategical, military and political calculations of the ruling circles in the Anglo-Saxon countries and frustrated their design to destroy the Land of Socialism with the hands of the fascist aggressors.

* F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow 1949, p. 354).

The antifascist movement of the masses of the people gave rise in a number of countries to new forms of democracy, to the activization of the masses of the people in all the countries of Europe, to the immense growth of the influence of the ideas of Socialism, to the growth of the moral and political prestige of the great Land of Socialism among the peoples of the whole world, and to the growth of the influence of the U.S.S.R. in international affairs.

From the First World War, world capitalism emerged weakened by the loss of the biggest country in Europe, i. e., Russia, which had taken the path of socialist development. By unleashing the Second World War, international reaction wanted to weaken the Land of Socialism, to smash the working-class movement in its respective countries, and to strengthen capitalism. But the opposite happened—the forces of reaction were weakened; the forces of Socialism, of the working-class movement, of democracy, became stronger than ever. This, of course, is a most unpleasant fact for the bourgeoisie; and, of course, it had not entered into its calculations, into the calculations of its most prominent representatives: the Trumans, Churchills, Vandenbergs, Dulleses, etc.

Today, world reaction, the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries, is becoming more and more

entangled in the contradictions, the consequences of its own domestic and foreign policies.

Striking evidence of this is provided by the "Marshall Plan" that is so widely boosted by the American imperialists. The object of this plan, according to the designs of its authors, is to help to avert the impending crisis in the United States, to subordinate the economics and politics of the West-European countries to American imperialism, and to help to suppress the progressive, democratic movement in the European countries.

The effect of the operation of the "Marshall Plan" is seen in Italy, France, Great Britain, Turkey, Belgium and other countries, where those branches of the national economy which compete with U.S. industry (ship building, automobile, aircraft, metallurgical, machine building, and also a number of branches of light industry) are cutting output. This is inevitably leading to an increase in unemployment, to the further intensification of the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the political field, the operation of the "Marshall Plan" is leading to the restriction and eventually to the liquidation of the national independence and sovereignty of the countries which are caught in the noose of American imperialism. This cannot but give rise to a struggle on the part of the masses of the people for national sovereignty and independence.

And inasmuch as the most consistent fighter for national independence and sovereignty today is the working class, this cannot but lead to the strengthening of the influence of the proletarian Marxist parties, to the growth of the influence of Communism.

In striving to suppress the progressive movements of the peoples in Greece, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, France, Italy, and other countries, Anglo-American reaction is rousing against itself the irrepressible hatred of the peoples. Reaction is sowing the wind and will reap the whirlwind. The results of the bourgeoisie's activities in the economic and political fields are to an increasing degree testifying to its moral, political and mental bankruptcy.

John Dewey, the veteran ideologist of the American reactionary bourgeoisie, wrote in 1946, in his book, *Problems of Men*: "Not even the most far-seeing of men could have predicted, no longer ago than fifty years, the course events have taken. The expectations that were entertained by men of generous outlook are in fact chiefly notable in that the actual course of events has moved in the opposite direction." It is not given to the ideologists of the bourgeosie to foresee the course of events. The future terrifies them, for it holds out no good for capitalism. The actual course of

historical development contradicts the interests of the bourgeoisie, since its day is over.

The great ideologists and leaders of the working class, however, were able to foresee the fate of capitalism, its doom, and the triumph of Communism, not only fifty, but even a hundred years ago. Convincing proof of this is provided by the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels. Fifty years ago, through the black clouds that darkened the sky over Russia, Lenin and Stalin, the great continuators of the teachings of Marx and Engels, could see the dawn of a new era, the rising sun of Socialism. This was a reflection of the spiritual might of the leaders of the new, rising class, the working class; it was a reflection of the potency of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, of the mighty genius of its creators.

II

THE ROLE OF MARXISM-LENINISM AS THE HIGHEST FORM OF SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

In his work, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Comrade Stalin pointed out that social development is spontaneous only up to a certain time, up to a certain point, until the new produc-

tive forces, the material bases of the new society have matured within the womb of the old.

When, on reaching a definite stage of development, the productive forces of society come into conflict with the old relations of production, in the womb of which they have been developing, these relations of production, and their vehicles, the ruling classes, become a barrier, an obstacle in the path of development of the productive forces and of society as a whole. The necessity of a revolution matures, the necessity of forcibly removing the old relations of production and their vehicles, the obsolete classes. The gradual, spontaneous development of society must be superseded by the conscious, revolutionary action of the progressive, revolutionary classes.

That is why progressive, revolutionary ideas, social theories, forms of social consciousness arise, expressing the conditions and interests of the progressive classes. They rally, organize and mobilize the masses, and thereby help to solve the new historical problems, facilitate the birth of the new society and accelerate social development.

Such is the general historical law that determines the role played by social ideas in the development of society, the law that was for the first time formulated in J. V. Stalin's work

Dialectical and Historical Materialism. But, like every general historical law, in each form of society it manifests itself in a special way. The role of ideas, of consciousness, of social theories, changes in accordance with the character of the given social system, with its laws and motive forces of development, in accordance with the character and social nature of these very ideas, theories and forms of consciousness, with the degree to which they accurately reflect the needs of the further development of society's material conditions of existence, and, finally, with the degree to which these ideas are disseminated among the masses.

Examining the question of the role progressive social ideas and theories play in the development of society, Comrade Stalin said: "...their significance is the greater the more accurately they reflect the needs of development of the material life of society."* It is known, that in past epochs of world history, social consciousness bore mainly a religious, i. e., fantastic, illusory character. As has been already stated, the ideology of the bourgeoisie presents a perverted, distorted picture of capitalist society. Marxism-Leninism is the only scientific, accurate and ade-

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* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism,* Moscow 1947, p. 580.

quate reflection of the needs of development of the material life of society in our epoch. It is the only theory that arms us with scientific knowledge of the laws of social development. And that is why the role the Marxist-Leninist theory, its great ideas, play in social development cannot be compared with anything in the past.

The bourgeois theory of "natural right," or the doctrine of the "social contract," were undoubtedly progressive in their time and, like the ideas of the French materialists and atheists, facilitated the victory of bourgeois society over feudal society. But these theories and ideas were current only in a narrow circle of educated people. Even the most progressive social theories and philosophical systems in the past were known only to individuals, to small schools. And that is why the influence of these progressive theories upon the course of historical development is incomparable with the mighty, revolutionary-transforming influence of Marxism-Leninism.

Marx regarded as the chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism the fact that it was contemplative, that "the thing, reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the *object* or of *contemplation*, but not as *human sensuous activity, practice*, not subjectively. Hence it happened that the *active* side, in contradistinction to

materialism, was developed by idealism—but only abstractly, since, of course, idealism does not know real, sensuous activity as such."* Marx regarded as the fundamental defect of all the philosophic systems of the past the fact that "the philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it."** Clearly, in view of these defects, even the materialist philosophical systems of the past exercised limited influence upon the course of social development. It must also be remembered that even the materialist philosophical systems of the past were based on the idealistic conception of social life, according to which history is made by great men, kings, great soldiers, heroes and ideologists. All the idealistic social theories ignored the role played in history by the masses of the people.

The creation of the philosophy of Marxism, as of Marxism as a whole, marked a genuine revolution in science, in philosophy. It is the philosophy of Marxism and of Marxism-Leninism as a whole as the ideology of the working class that possesses effective, creative, revolutionary-transforming power, thanks to which it be-

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* K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow 1949, p. 365.

** *Ibid.*, p. 367.

comes the banner of the struggle of the working class for Socialism, the banner of the building of communist society.

From the very outset, Marxism-Leninism set itself the task of not simply interpreting the world, of revealing the laws of development of society, the laws of development of capitalism, but of showing how, by means of these laws, it is possible to abolish capitalism and build a new, communist society, of showing which class bears the historical mission of carrying out this task, and under what conditions the working class can fulfil its historical mission. Here, theory and practice, the strategy and tactics of the class struggle, the doctrine of the laws of building communist society and the historical activities of the working class and later of the whole people, headed by the Marxist Party, are inseverably connected. From the very outset, by virtue of its intrinsic nature, of its very essence, of its mission, theory comes out as a guide to action.

In the course of applying this theory to the revolutionary transformation of society, its role changes with the changes in the character of the social system. The role of the Marxist-Leninist theory, and the character of the influence it exercises on the course of social development, are different under the Soviet system from what

they are under the capitalist system. Under that system too, this theory is the weapon of the Marxist Party, the ideology of the revolutionary working class; but under capitalism, Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the oppressed, exploited class, the class that is spiritually downtrodden by the bourgeoisie. In every capitalist country, Marxism is opposed by the ruling ideology of the bourgeoisie.

In socialist society, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are the ruling ideas; Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical weapon of the Party that guides the Soviet State, the whole of socialist society. Hence, Marxism-Leninism directly influences the whole course of social life, because under Socialism, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are backed by the entire might of the new social system, by the entire might of the Socialist State and of the Communist Party, by the entire might and strength of tens of millions of people whose minds are imbued with these ideas. Embodied in life, materialized in the new social system, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of Socialism, become a still more mighty motive force of social development.

In socialist society, where new laws of social development, fundamentally different from the old, operate, Marxism-Leninism, as the science of building Communism, is the theoretical founda-

tion of all the actions of the Soviet State and of the Communist Party in the economic, political, cultural and ideological spheres.

Already under capitalism, the theory of Marxism-Leninism is a force that accelerates social development; it is a theory that gives the Marxist Party power of orientation, it is the banner of the struggle of the working class against capitalism. But under capitalism, the theory of Marxism-Leninism is an explosive force, its subversive power comes to the forefront; its organizing, creative role manifests itself in that it mobilizes, unites the forces of the working class, of all the working people, and shows them the ways and means of fighting for Socialism.

Under Socialism, the theory of Marxism-Leninism is not only a weapon for combating the remnants of the old, but also a powerful means for building the new society, a force for the creation, consolidation and development of the new.

The wider the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are disseminated under capitalism, the more they take hold of the minds of the members of the working class and of all working people, the nearer is the doom of capitalism. Under Socialism, however, the widest dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism is the greatest means of consolidating and developing the new society.

The less politically active the masses are under capitalism, the more the bourgeoisie and its ideologists succeed in lulling the class consciousness of the working people, the better it is for the bourgeoisie; it feels more at ease, and capitalism is more secure. Capitalism is kept in being not only by violence and exploitation, but also by the ignorance and downtrodden condition of the masses, by their lack of confidence in their own strength. In socialist society, on the contrary, an essential condition for the growth of its might and for the acceleration of its development is the utmost political and social activity of the people. And this activity is determined by the socialist consciousness of the masses, by the degree to which the ideas and the slogans of the Communist Party are disseminated among the masses, by the degree to which the working people understand the Party's policy, which rests upon the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Thus we see that the potency and character of the influence the same progressive ideas exercise upon the course of social development differ in accordance with the character of society itself, with the character of its laws, with the possibility and scope of conscious activity in the different spheres of social life, with the degree to which these ideas are disseminated among the masses.

A characteristic feature of socialist society is that it is the first society in history to be created on the basis of the conscious action of millions.

The special, specific role that social consciousness, progressive social theory, plays in the rise and development of socialist society springs from the very nature of this new society, which is based on the abolition of private property, exploitation and of class and national antagonisms.

The conditions for the formation of socialist society differ from those of all preceding forms of society. The latter matured in the womb of the old societies in the shape of more or less completed economic systems. This was due to the fact that these societies—slavery, feudalism and capitalism—were based on the private ownership of the means of production, on exploitation and class antagonism. Only the forms of exploitation and antagonism changed; exploitation and antagonism as such, remained.

As a consequence of this, the task of bourgeois revolutions reduced itself to the seizure of power by the bourgeoisie, to adapting the political superstructure to the already mature capitalist economy.

Socialism marks a fundamental rupture with all the old social relationships and ideas. Despite the theories of the reformists, opportunists and

pseudo socialists, socialist society cannot mature spontaneously in the womb of capitalism in the way the latter matured in the womb of feudalism. The opportunist and reformist theories about the peaceful evolution of capitalism into Socialism, theories to the effect that Socialism must come about as the automatic result of the development of the productive forces, ignore the fundamental difference between capitalism and Socialism. They proceed from the assumption that the two systems are identical. It is precisely on these "grounds" that the British Labourites (who represent one of the most despicable varieties of pseudo Socialism) proclaimed the capitalist order in Great Britain as socialistic, and the imperialist, reactionary policy of the Labour Government as a socialist policy.

As Lenin and Stalin teach us, the peculiar feature of the revolutionary transition from capitalism to Socialism is that it begins with the absence, or almost with the absence, of completed forms of the socialist economic system.

Only the essential material and spiritual prerequisites of Socialism mature in the womb of capitalism: the productive forces develop, the vehicle of socialist relations of production—the revolutionary working class—takes shape, the revolutionary party of the working class and its scientific theory—Marxism-Leninism—arise.

The socialist revolution does not end, but begins with the seizure of power by the working class. The victorious working class uses the socialist state as the most important and decisive lever for the conscious transformation of the old economy and the building of the new, socialist economy.

In his work "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," V. I. Lenin wrote: "In bourgeois revolutions, the principal task of the masses of the toilers was to fulfil the negative or destructive work of abolishing feudalism, monarchy and medievalism. The positive, or creative work of organizing the new society was carried out by the property-owning bourgeois minority of the population. And the latter carried out this task with relative ease, notwithstanding the resistance of the workers and the poorest peasants, not only because the resistance of the masses that were exploited by capital was then extremely weak owing to their scattered character and ignorance, but also because the fundamental organizing force of anarchically-constructed capitalist society is the spontaneously expanding national and international market.

"On the contrary, in every socialist revolution—and consequently in the socialist revolution in Russia which we began on November 7 (October 25), 1917—the principal task of the proletariat, and of the poorest peasantry which it

leads, is the positive or creative work of setting up an extremely intricate and subtle system of new organizational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people. Such a revolution can be successfully carried out only if the majority of the population, and primarily the majority of the toilers, display independent historical creative spirit. Only if the proletariat and the poorest peasantry display sufficient class consciousness, devotion to ideals, self-sacrifice and perseverance will the victory of the socialist revolution be assured. By creating a new, Soviet type of state, which gives the opportunity to all the toilers and the masses of the oppressed to take an active part in the independent building up of a new society, we solved only a small part of this difficult problem. The principal difficulty lies in the economic sphere, viz., the introduction of the strictest and universal accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, raising the productivity of labour and *socializing* production in actual *practice*."*

Whereas, in bourgeois revolutions, the conscious action of the masses was limited to the

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow 1947, pp. 313-14.

revolutionary overthrow of the old ruling classes and their power, in the socialist revolution, the seizure of power by the working class ushers in a new epoch of history-making by the masses, an epoch of their conscious, planned creation of new forms of social relationships. The existence of the socialist, Soviet State, or, as is the case in the People's Democracies—those new forms of the people's-democratic state, which performs the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and is a form of this dictatorship—is an essential, a decisive prerequisite for the building of socialist society.

The political and ideological inspirer, the organizer and leader of the conscious building of the new society is the Communist Party, which is armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The building of Socialism calls for great, constantly increasing, mighty activity on the part of the masses, for creative initiative, unswerving devotion to the cause of Socialism, self-sacrifice, enthusiasm, heroism, fortitude, discipline, perseverance and persistence in pursuit of a great aim, in overcoming the difficulties that lie in the path to that aim, in short, it calls for high, socialist, communist consciousness.

Unlike capitalism, under which social life proceeds as a result of the conflict and the interlocking of the innumerable strivings, wishes,

interests, aims and wills of millions of people who are disunited by private property and private interests, Socialism—its building, its existence and its development—requires that the wills of millions be united into a single, conscious will directed towards the achievement of a single great aim—Communism. And this singleness of will for the building of Socialism can be achieved only on the basis of the great socialist consciousness of the masses, on the basis of their understanding of their fundamental interests.

This singleness of will of millions can be and is being secured only under the authoritative and tried leadership of the Communist Party, which is strong by virtue of the discipline and unity of its ranks, of its inseverable connection with the masses of the working people, by virtue of its theory, of its knowledge of the laws governing the building of Communism. The Communist Party is the inspirer, organizer, leader and teacher of the Soviet people, and their educator in the spirit of communist consciousness.

It fell to the lot of the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, by the genius of Lenin and Stalin, to be the first to build Socialism, to lay the road to the new world. There was not a single book from which one could learn how, concretely, the new society ought to be built, how to build the new mode of economic life out of

the elements that were bequeathed to us by capitalism, how to establish the new forms of social relationships, the new, conscious labour discipline. On the basis of their analysis of the trend of capitalism's development, Marx and Engels were able to indicate the features of the future communist form of society only in the most general way, to establish the phases, the stages of development of this form of society, to define theoretically how people would have to carry on production and distribution planfully and consciously in the first and in the second phases of Communism. These theoretical propositions emanated from the minds of geniuses and, in the main, remain true to this day, but they were only general theoretical propositions.

Only Lenin and Stalin, theoretically generalizing the experience of the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., could present a comprehensive elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist theory as the science of building Communism, could reveal the laws and motive forces of development of the new form of society.

In all things, the most difficult is to make a start. On the basis of the immense experience of the U.S.S.R., other countries will today find it ever so much easier to build socialist society than we did. All the greater, therefore, was the role that socialist theory had to play, and is playing,

in the building of the first socialist society in history. All the more urgent, therefore, was the necessity of exposing the various anti-Marxist, opportunist theories that aimed to mislead the working class, that sowed lack of confidence in the ability of the Soviet people to build Socialism. If the counterrevolutionary nature of these Trotsky-Zinoviev, Bukharin theories had not been exposed, it would have been impossible to rouse, to mobilize, to organize and inspire the masses for the building of Socialism. If millions had not been imbued with confidence in victory, the building of Socialism would not have been ensured.

As had been the case before the revolution, from the very first days of the existence of the Soviet State, the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin and Stalin, was obliged to wage a fierce political, theoretical and ideological struggle against the trends that were hostile to Bolshevism. This struggle was waged around all the most important problems concerning the policy of the Soviet State: the problem of peace, the national and peasant problems, the problems of industrializing the country and of collectivizing agriculture, the problem of the state under Socialism, problems concerning cultural development, etc.

The fate of the country, the fate of Socialism, depended upon the correct solution of these

problems. And here, too, the tried and reliable weapon of the Party of Lenin and Stalin was, and remains, the theory of Marxism, creatively developed by Lenin and Stalin.

Comrade Zhdanov said that our Party's policy is the vital foundation of our Soviet society. Politics are the relation between classes. The fate of the Soviet State, of Socialism, depended on the correctness of the line taken by the working class towards the peasantry. That is why Lenin and Stalin spoke of the priority of politics over economics. Politics are the conscious guidance of the whole of socialist society by the Soviet State and the Communist Party. Upon the correctness of this guidance depended the fate of our country, the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

In working out and implementing their policy, domestic and foreign, the Socialist State and the Communist Party proceed from the scientific conception of the nature of classes, of the motive forces, the laws of development of Soviet society, from the correct understanding of the relation between politics and economics, between the basis and the superstructure, and from the correct understanding of the transforming role played by the Marxist-Leninist theory.

At all the abrupt turns in life, turns in the development of our Soviet society, at the different stages of the class struggle—in the period of

transition to the New Economic Policy; in carrying out the policy of socialist industrialization, and later, of the complete collectivization of agriculture; in the period of the sweeping socialist offensive; in the period of the Great Patriotic War and in the period of rehabilitation of our national economy—the Communist Party has been guided by its knowledge of economic laws, the laws of the class struggle, and the laws governing the building of Socialism.

This knowledge of the laws of social development and of the laws governing the building of Socialism, enabled the Party to understand the character of the difficulties of development, to see the contradictions in our development, the nature of these contradictions, and the methods, the ways and means of eliminating them. The Communist Party has always relied upon scientifically elaborated strategy and tactics. It has always had clear perspectives before it. Even during the most abrupt turns in our development, in our policy, it never lost sight of the final, the chief aim, namely, the abolition of classes, the victory of Socialism, of Communism.

The expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, the conversion of the land, factories, workshops, banks and railways into public property, struck a crushing blow at capitalist econ-

omy. But on the whole, the country's economy remained on the level of the multiple system of production, in which simple commodity peasant production prevailed. By its very nature, however, simple commodity production is capable of causing the spontaneous generation of a bourgeoisie and capitalism on a mass scale. On these grounds, the enemies of Socialism in the camp of the Second International, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites, and also the entire foreign bourgeoisie, predicted the doom of the Soviet system and the restoration of capitalism. Lenin and Stalin, our Party, saw the danger of the regeneration of capitalism and the possibility of its restoration. But, relying on the Marxist-Leninist theory, on an exact calculation of the relation of class forces, they also saw the other real possibility, the possibility of the complete victory of Socialism, if a correct Bolshevik policy were pursued.

On the correctness of our policy to achieve the complete victory of Socialism depended the fate not only of our country, but also of Socialism, the outcome of the struggle between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction all over the world. The forces of Socialism relied on their command of the economic key positions, on the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, on the might of the Soviet

State. On our side was the strength of socialist theory, the strength of conscious guidance, of a scientifically grounded policy, the strength of foresight.

The economic backwardness of our country, its agrarian character, which the Trotskyites and Mensheviks regarded as an insuperable obstacle to the victory of Socialism, was aggravated by the enormous economic ruin that had been caused, first by the imperialist war, and then by the Civil War that was thrust upon us by the RussianWhiteguards and foreign interventionists. Most of the factories and railways were idle owing to the absence of raw materials and fuel, to the dilapidation of rolling stock, etc.

In spite of this, however, Lenin and Stalin, already at that time, in 1920-21, relying on their profound understanding of the creative forces of the emancipated people, foresaw that scores of new, first-class industrial centres, thousands of new factories, would arise in the boundless spaces of our country. Lenin and Stalin saw the salvation of Russia, the condition for the victory of Socialism over capitalism, in the implementation of the policy of socialist industrialization, in the creation of heavy industry that would produce all the necessary modern means of production, and in the organization of cooperative agriculture.

Lenin did not live to see the realization of the great plan of the socialist industrialization and electrification that he drew up in general outline, or the realization of his celebrated plan of cooperation and the cultural revolution.

This was consummated by the Party, by the Soviet people, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin concretized Lenin's industrialization plan and developed it further. He comprehensively elaborated the theory of socialist industrialization. The Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, was obliged to wage a fierce struggle for its realization. The whole Party, the entire Soviet people, had to be roused to carry out the magnificent plan of industrialization in the extremely short space of time that history had allotted us.

Under Comrade Stalin's guidance, a powerful, socialist heavy industry was created, which became the lever for the technical re-equipment of the country's entire economy, including agriculture.

The Lenin-Stalin theory of the socialist industrialization of the country proceeded from the Marxist theory that, in the last analysis, productive forces determine the mode of production and the development of the whole of society. Only by means of the great theory of Marxism-Leninism, of a profound knowledge of economic and social laws, was it possible to understand the inner

connection of phenomena, to outline the great plan for the technical, economic, social and cultural transformation of the country, to organize the masses and lead them to the carrying out of this plan.

The entire course of development of Soviet society has been a process of overcoming spontaneity and of the triumph of conscious, planned leadership.

To carry out the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the Communist Party had to shatter the kulak, Bukharin "spontaneity" theory. As is known, Bukharin preached the theory that the kulaks would "grow" into Socialism, that simple commodity peasant production would spontaneously change into socialist production. This was an inimical, counterrevolutionary, bourgeois theory, which aimed at the restoration of capitalism. Comrade Stalin exposed this theory and countered it with the Leninist theory of the socialist reorganization of agriculture.

Criticizing the kulak theory of the Rights, Comrade Stalin said:

"The theory of 'spontaneity' in socialist construction is an anti-Marxian theory. The socialist towns must *lead* the countryside, in which small-peasant farming predominates, *set up* collective farms and state farms in the rural districts and reorganize the rural districts on a new, socialist,

basis."* The socialist revolution in agriculture was accomplished consciously *from above*, on the initiative and according to the plan of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party, and with the direct support *from below* of millions of peasants who had become convinced of the advantages and superiority of collective farming over individual farming. This was a great triumph for the ideas of Socialism, collectivism.

In all this was felt the great role played by the Lenin-Stalin theory of the building of Socialism, the wisdom of the Party, the genius of Lenin and Stalin in exercising Bolshevik leadership, their foresight and farsightedness.

How many times during the Patriotic War against Hitler Germany did millions of people recall Stalin's prophetic statement that we must in the shortest space of time overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries economically. When, at the great turning point in the war, thousands of tanks and aircraft moved against the enemy, when our glorious artillery developed its offensive and hurled tens and hundreds of thousands of shells into the enemy's camp, millions of men in the Soviet Army said: "There you are! This is Stalin's industrializa-

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 306.

tion!" Had we not carried out the Lenin-Stalin plan of industrialization, we would have perished as an independent country, we would not have had Socialism.

The Stalin five-year plans were the concrete embodiment of Leninism, its translation into the language of practical activities of tens of millions of builders of Socialism. These plans organized, united millions of wills into one will operating in a single direction, pursuing a single aim—the victory of Socialism.

For the first time in history, the great, scientifically grounded aim of consciously reorganizing the whole of society brought tens of millions of people into action. And this aim was achieved. The plans were not only fulfilled, but overfulfilled.

Encouraging the creative initiative of the masses, calling upon them consciously to build the new, socialist mode of life, the Communist Party, Lenin and Stalin, carefully studied the creative efforts of the masses, their innovations, all the young shoots of what was new, urged the masses to take up the innovations introduced by the advanced people and generalized the creative efforts of the masses in the light of the great theory of Leninism.

The leadership of the Communist Party, armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, gives our prog-

ress clarity of aim, strength of organization, solidarity and confidence and accelerates our advance towards the final aim.

It is impossible to build a new society unless one clearly understands what to build and how to build, unless one has a clear aim, confidence in victory and a clear perspective. Only the Lenin-Stalin theory that the victory of Socialism is possible in one country, taken separately, gave the masses a clear perspective and confidence in victory; this theory released and organized the initiative of the masses. The great aim engendered great energy, multiplied the forces of the people.

The bourgeois fatalist-sociologists asserted, and assert today, that historical progress cannot be accelerated. This is not true. The wheel of history cannot be turned back, but its progress can certainly be accelerated.

The determination of the Soviet people to fulfil the postwar five-year plan ahead of schedule is an example which proves that a people which subordinates the social productive forces and social relationships to its power can accelerate the course of development. And this acceleration is determined primarily by the growth of the socialist consciousness of the masses, by the leadership of the Communist Party, by the success achieved in our work of communist education.

III

THE MOULDING OF THE SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE IN THE U.S.S.R.

In the course of the socialist transformation of the country, the people themselves, the builders of Socialism, became transformed; their consciousness underwent a profound change: the old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois consciousness was overcome and the new socialist consciousness grew.

In the early period, the necessity of remoulding the consciousness of the masses was one of the difficulties in the task of building the new society. In order fundamentally to change the old views, ethics, habits and customs, the old mentality that had been inculcated by the capitalist system, it was necessary to change the material conditions of life of the masses in town and country, to remould them on the basis of Socialism, because the material conditions of life mould social consciousness. And in order fundamentally to change the material conditions of life on a socialist basis it was necessary that the masses should display enormous creative initia-

tive, energy, and a high level of socialist consciousness. It looked as though an insoluble contradiction, a vicious circle, had arisen. Various philistines and utopians did actually think that it was an insoluble contradiction. They proposed that the masses first be re-educated in the spirit of Socialism and to pass on to Socialism when that had been accomplished. But under the conditions of capitalism, or of petty-bourgeois peasant economy, it was impossible fundamentally to change the mentality, the habits and ethics of people who had been reared on the soil of the exploiting system, the private-property system.

Historically, the contradiction between the old attitude towards labour, between the old ethics and habits, the old mentality, and the need for socialist consciousness for the building of the new society, was solved in the course of the socialist revolution, in the course of the struggle for Socialism. While changing social relationships, transforming the world on a socialist basis, the Soviet people themselves underwent a change and became spiritually regenerated; step by step they freed, and are freeing, their minds of the survivals of capitalism. Marx and Engels were profoundly right when, already in their early work, *The German Ideology*, they wrote that for the birth of Communism "the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration

which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the *ruling* class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew."*

The process of liberating the masses of the workers and peasants, and also the intelligentsia, from the influence of bourgeois ideology, from the old traditional forms of mentality, from the inherited ethics and habits, from the birthmarks of capitalism, did not take place and is not taking place simultaneously in all spheres of social consciousness. It took place in different ways, according to the character of the different forms of social consciousness, according as to whether they were nearer to or more remote from the social basis, according to the role they played in the class struggle and in the building of the new, socialist society.

Called forth by the conflict between the productive forces and the capitalist relations of production, by the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between all the working

* K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York 1939, p. 69.

people and the capitalist system, the revolution in the minds of the working class, and of the rest of the working people, naturally takes place first in the sphere of their political consciousness and finds expression in a fundamental change in their attitude towards the old form of government, towards the bourgeois state and the bourgeoisie itself, towards the entire bourgeois social system; it finds expression in their realization of the necessity of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and of establishing the rule of the working class, of the working people.

Inasmuch as of all the forms of the class struggle the political struggle is the chief and decisive form, the revolution in the political consciousness of the masses takes place before the revolution in their attitude towards labour, in their ethics, in their attitude towards religion, in their world outlook as a whole.

True, the different sides of the mentality of the masses are not separated from each other by a Chinese wall. A revolution in the political consciousness of the masses cannot help affecting, for example, problems of religion, of world outlook as a whole.

But on the eve of the socialist revolution, in the period of its preparation and realization, the political aim of capturing power, and all that is directly connected with this, naturally come

to the forefront. The revolution in the attitude of the masses towards labour, the revolution in their ethics and customs, their liberation from the habits that had been inculcated during the thousands of years of existence of the exploiting system—this revolution in the mentality, the general world outlook of the masses—being a more complicated and profound process, takes place after the socialist revolution, in the struggle for the new economic and social mode of life, in the process of building socialist society. By its very nature, this revolution is of such a kind that it cannot take place in a matter of days, months or even years. It stretches over decades. Survivals of capitalism are still far from having been eliminated from the minds of the people of Soviet society. The development of the consciousness of the masses always lags behind the changes in society's material conditions of existence. This is due to the nature of social consciousness, which is a *reflection* of social life; it is due to the relative independence it acquires in its development.

Once they arise, the forms of social consciousness become petrified, ossified, as it were, and in passing from generation to generation acquire the force of tradition, of habit.

These habits, acquired in childhood, are extremely tenacious.

There were two main reasons why the old views and the survivals of capitalism were preserved in Soviet people's minds during the first stage of development of Soviet society: first, the new system had not yet been firmly established, while the old, presocialist economic systems had not yet been abolished; the latter fostered the old views, facilitated the preservation and regeneration of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ethics and habits. Second, there were hostile forces, hostile classes and groups, that were interested in preserving the old views, ideas and ethics. At the present time, when Socialism is already victorious and the exploiting classes have been abolished, it is the hostile capitalist ring around us that tries to revive and foster the old views and ideas.

In our country there are still unstable elements who yield to the influence of bourgeois ideology and who, willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously, come out as the mouthpieces of bourgeois ideas that are hostile to us. The survivals of capitalism in people's minds, the old views, ideas, habits and ethics inherited from the past, constitute a retarding force to the development of our society.

That is why our Party, its leaders Lenin and Stalin, devoted such enormous attention to the communist education of the masses, to

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the struggle against the survivals of the old society.

These survivals of capitalism in people's minds were particularly dangerous in the first stage of the development of the Soviet system, when that system had not yet been firmly established, when Socialism had not yet become everyday life.

In his report on the results of the Thirteenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) on June 17, 1924, Comrade Stalin said, refering to this: "The old customs and habits, traditions and prejudices inherited from the old society are most dangerous enemies of Socialism. These traditions and customs hold millions of working people in their grasp, sometimes they overwhelm whole strata of the proletariat, sometimes they create the greatest danger to the very existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, to combat these traditions and customs, to overcome them without fail in all spheres of our work, and finally, to educate the new generations in the spirit of proletarian Socialism are immediate tasks, which the Party must carry out if Socialism is to be victorious."*

The reason why Comrade Stalin put the question of the danger of the survivals of capitalism in people's minds so sharply will be easily

* J. V. Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russ. ed., Vol. 6, p. 248.

understood. The overcoming of these survivals, the education of the masses in the spirit of communist consciousness, was a condition for the preservation and consolidation of the socialist state, a condition for the victory of Socialism.

The survivals of the past in people's minds were far more dangerous for Soviet society than they had been for all preceding societies. Take, for example, bourgeois society in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century. It, of course, contained survivals of feudalism, of serfdom, or even of slavery in the sphere of consciousness, of ideology, in the same way as capitalism has tolerated, and is tolerating serfdom, semiserfdom and even slavery in the sphere of economics, both within its respective countries and especially in colonies.

But these survivals did not and could not threaten the existence of capitalism, because, notwithstanding the important differences between them, all these forms of society, and, consequently, their ideologies were after all of the same type. In the period of bourgeois revolutions, the progressive bourgeoisie criticized religion as the ideology of feudal society; but after these revolutions, it widely utilized religion as a means for the spiritual suppression of the masses. And in many countries, like England, the United States and Germany, the bourgeoisie did not break with religion at all, but merely reformed it.

The socialist revolution alone, being a fundamental transformation of the entire social and political system, marks a complete rupture with the old ideas which had grown up on the basis of private property; if it were not so, the socialist system could not be victorious, could not become firmly established and could not develop freely.

That is why our Party and its leaders fought so relentlessly for the purity of our theory, of our ideology, for the communist education of the masses. That is why communist education has become one of the most important tasks of the Socialist State. Lenin said:

"It is only after the overthrow of tsars, landlords and capitalists that the field is for the first time cleared for the real construction of Socialism, for the creation of a new social tie, of a new discipline of common labour and of a new historic system for the whole of the national, and then of international economy. This is a matter of remoulding habits and customs, which have long been polluted and perverted by accursed private property in the means of production and by the atmosphere of enmity and mistrust, of hostility, disunion and mutual intrigue that accompanies it, and that inevitably disappears and is constantly reproduced by small-scale individual production, production by property owners and free exchange between them.... We

are not daunted by the tremendous difficulties and the mistakes that are inevitable at the commencement of a difficult cause—for the work of remoulding all labour habits and customs is a work of decades."*

Lenin regarded the struggle against the old, pernicious habits and customs that had been inherited from the past as a most difficult one.

"We shall work for the eradication of that accursed law 'every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost,' for the eradication of the habit of regarding labour only as a thing of compulsion.... We shall work to inculcate in people the habit, to implant in the everyday life of the masses the law 'all for each and each for all.'... We have dislodged a rock of tremendous weight, the rock of inertia, ignorance and stubborn adherence to the habit of free trade, the free purchase and sale of labour power and human strength like any other commodity. We have begun to loosen and to destroy the most ingrained prejudices, the most ancient and deep-rooted habits."**

Lenin wrote this in connection with the anniversary of the inauguration of the communist

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* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 3rd Russ. ed., Vol. XXV, pp. 255, 256.

** *Ibid.*, p. 256.

subbotniks which he regarded as the beginning, as one of the manifestations of the profoundest revolution in the minds of the masses, in their attitude towards labour, a revolution more profound than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. This revolution in the attitude of the masses towards labour could take place only on the basis of the new political system, the Soviet system.

In his work *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin wrote that precisely under Soviet rule, under the leadership of the working class, would it be necessary to re-educate the millions of peasants, small proprietors, and hundreds of thousands of office employees, officials and bourgeois intellectuals, subject them to the leadership of the vanguard of the working people, to vanquish their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois habits and traditions. The prolonged struggle on the basis of the Soviet State, he said, re-educates the workers themselves, the workers who cannot at one stroke free themselves from their own petty-bourgeois prejudices by a miracle, at the behest of the Virgin Mary, by slogans, decrees or resolutions. Only in the long and persevering struggle against petty-bourgeois and bourgeois influences, in the struggle to build Socialism, and in the course of building it, does the working class, and all the working people, remould themselves, change their own nature

and rid themselves of the birthmarks of the old system.

In Soviet society, in the course of building Socialism, the mentality of the Soviet people underwent a fundamental change. Soviet, socialist ideology has become the ideology of the entire people.

In the battle for Socialism, in the course of the struggle to surmount the difficulties connected with the building of Socialism, in the course of the ruthless struggle against the enemies of the people—the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites and nationalists, in the course of the struggle against their inimical ideology, the Communist Party re-educated the people in the spirit of Socialism, in the spirit of Soviet ideology, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.The successes achieved in the struggle for Socialism in the economic sphere and in the sphere of social relationships, and the growth of the socialist consciousness of the masses, mutually fostered and conditioned each other. Of course, the determining factor in this interaction was the socialist mode of production, the socialist relations of production, the comradely cooperation and mutual assistance of people free from exploitation. The entire Soviet socialist system has moulded, and is moulding, the mentality of the Soviet people.

Socialist consciousness, as one of the mighty forces of development of Soviet society, finds daily expression in the attitude of millions of workers, kolkhozniks and intellectuals towards their work. Material production has been and remains the chief determining basis of development in all societies, including socialist society.

The progressive development of society has found, and finds today, its material expression in the development of the productivity of labour and at the same time in the changes in the incentives to work. Slave and serf labour was maintained by force, by naked coercion, by the whip of the overseer, by the knout and the birch. Labour under capitalism, capitalist labour discipline, is maintained by fear of death from starvation.

Marx wrote in *Capital* that the fear of death from starvation rivets the labourer to capital more than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. Capitalism has rested on this fear, and rests on it today.

At the end of 1947, Sir Graham Cunningham, chairman of the "planning" committee set up by the British government, said at a meeting of industrialists in London that the future of British industry depended upon unemployment, upon wages being kept at their "natural" level by fear of unemployment.

Socialism has completely uprooted the old stimuli of unfree labour. It has created new bases for conscious discipline in free labour, new, mighty sources for the development of the productivity of this free labour. These sources came into being as a result of the emancipation of the working people from exploitation, as a result of the new material interest the producers have acquired in the product of their labour, and as a result of their socialist consciousness. The fact that the workers and kolkhozniks realize that they are working for their own benefit and not for the benefit of capitalists and landlords, that they are working in their own factories and their own kolkhozes, that their labour is the source of the efflorescence of Soviet society and of the growing might of the Soviet State, the source of the increasing prosperity of the whole of the people, is a mighty stimulus for the development of the productive forces of socialist society. This stimulus has given a new meaning, a new character, a new social significance to labour itself.

The Australian publicist A. Mander, in his book *6 P.M. Till Midnight*, writes as follows about conditions of labour in Anglo-Saxon countries, and in capitalist countries generally: "For the great majority of people under present conditions their daily work is also rather pointless, aimless.

They feel that they are working *only* for wages, or for whatever other form of monetary return it gives them. I imagine that very, very few amongst us feel that our work is worth doing for its own sake—as tested by the question: Should we still want to go on doing it even if we had won £100,000? In wartime, perhaps, there is a little more sense of significance about work, at least for those who happen to be engaged in "warwork" (during the antifascist war—*F.K.*); "and in Russia, of course, there must be millions who feel that their daily toil has overtone significance as part of the vast collective effort of building a new world."* In all capitalist countries, labour remains unfree toil. Socialist labour in all spheres, from the simplest to the most complex, skilled labour, is glorified, is inspired by the great aim of building Communism. Never has the humble, inconspicuous manual labour of millions of people anywhere been elevated to such a height as it has in the Land of Socialism. Here, for the first time in history, labour and the labourer are recognized as the decisive and determining social force.

Only under Socialism does labour become creative; only here is it turned into a play of physical and intellectual forces, as Marx put it. Under

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* A. Mander, *6 P. M. Till Midnight,* Melbourne, Rawson's, 1945, p. 9.

Socialism, the miner does not merely mine ore and the steel smelter smelt iron and steel. Beyond the ore and the iron and steel they see thousands of machines and machine tools which equip labour, lighten it and increase its productivity. To them, additional thousands and millions of tons of iron and steel are the basis of the might of the Land of Socialism, a means for accelerating progress towards Communism. Our Soviet coal miner regards coal, the product of his labour, not merely as "black gold," but as the source of energy for our factories and railways, as a source of light for our towns and villages.

Our weavers, men and women, visualize the millions of metres of fabrics they weave being made into better and brighter clothing for the people. Our men and women kolkhozniks, in working to produce bigger crops, regard this as the source not only of their own prosperity, but of the prosperity and happiness of the entire people, a source of strength of their state.

From this social significance of socialist labour springs its creative force, the great movement for socialist emulation—the Stakhanov movement.

The new upswing of socialist emulation is indicative of the higher level of socialist consciousness that the masses of the working people in our country have attained. The aim of social-

ist emulation is to achieve a higher productivity of labour, to raise big crops, to fulfil the five-year plan in four years, to put the enterprises on a paying basis, to save raw materials, to produce high-quality goods.

Socialist emulation, the Stakhanov movement, is assuming ever new forms and features. Today Stakhanovites are not only striving to increase daily output, but pledge themselves to fulfil yearly and five-year plans ahead of time. This is something new in the Stakhanov movement. A good number of men and women Stakhanovites in different republics and regions, and in different branches of industry, have already fulfilled their individual plans several years ahead. Thereby they reveal what potentialities lie in socialist labour, what new miracles of heroism and creativeness are engendered by socialist labour, what a great force socialist consciousness, conscious activity, is.

Not only has the mentality of the workers undergone a profound change, but so also has that of the peasants, who are marching in step with the workers.

The thousands of new heroes and heroines of socialist labour in agriculture who have given the country record, unprecedented crops, are innovators who are boldly blazing new paths to the efflorescence of agriculture.

In 1925, I had occasion to be in the village of Kudara, in the Irkutsk Region, beyond Lake Baikal. This is a huge village that stretches for several kilometres. During the Civil War, the inhabitants of this village formed an entire partisan regiment to fight Kolchak. At a meeting held in connection with the election of the Soviets, the question came up of forming agricultural communes and artels. Some of the peasants, the poorer ones, spoke, rather timidly, it is true, in favour of forming an artel, others opposed it. Among the opponents was a sturdy, well-to-do middle peasant. He said: "The Bolsheviks are a good party. They know the people, they know what the people need, and what is best for them. But about these communes and artels, they are a bit off the mark. Nothing will come of them. Take our peasants, for example. When a son grows up, he gets married and at once takes his share of the farm and sets up for himself. Why? Because father and son, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, brother and brother can't get on together. And when the share-out begins the brothers and sisters-in-law begin to fight over a pothook, or a pot, or a sheep, ready to fly at each other's throats, and sometimes it goes as far as murder. And yet you," he said, turning to the Communists, "you want people who are not even related to each other to work in a friendly way, in

common, to live together. That's impossible....” This peasant expressed the mentality of the property owner, the training of centuries, the backward mentality of the peasant—the slave of his plot of land, the slave of nature and of its elements, the slave of his own prejudices; he expressed the mentality of a peasant in the grip of age-old traditions, afraid of everything new, unknown and untested by experience.

The world of such a peasant is limited by the boundaries of his own village.

The present-day peasant, the kolkhoznik, is separated from the former private property-owner peasant by a whole epoch, the epoch of a great revolution in agriculture, in his mode of production, technical equipment, mentality, ethics and world outlook.

The army of heroes of socialist labour, the army of Stakhanovites who take socialist pledges to achieve something new, a still bigger crop, is one of the numerous proofs of the great spiritual regeneration of our people. Indeed, Russia is not the same as she was before 1917, nor are we what we were before 1917, nor even in 1925.

In conformity with the revolutionary character of our socialist society, the socialist consciousness of Soviet people is impregnated with a revolutionary spirit. It is hostile to routine, conservatism, stagnation and immobility. It looks

not backward, but forward. A feeling for the new is a precious quality of Soviet people, a quality inculcated by the Bolshevik Party. The *socialist consciousness of the Soviet people is moulded under the guidance of the Communist Party* on the basis of its scientific world outlook. This world outlook—Marxism-Leninism—is the prevailing world outlook in Soviet society. It is in the spirit of this world outlook that the new generation of Soviet people is being educated. The aim of the cultural-educational work of the Soviet State is to conduct education in the spirit of the communist world outlook and no other. This is a most important task and function of the Soviet State in the period of the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism.

IV

SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE NEW MOTIVE FORCES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY

The new motive forces of the development of socialist society that were unknown to other societies are: the moral and political unity of the Soviet people, friendship among the nations, and Soviet patriotism. These motive forces sprang up

on the soil of the socialist system. At the same time, they characterize the concretely-historical content of the Soviet people's socialist consciousness. The moral and political unity of the Soviet people expresses the character of the socialist mode of production, the absence of exploitation and of antagonistic relationships in production. This moral and political unity expresses the actual relationships existing between the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all the peoples and nations in the U.S.S.R. It is not only an ideological, moral unity; it is also a political unity. It expresses the fact that the workers, the kolkhozniks and intellectuals, as workers in a united socialist society, all have common interests, common political aims. This unity is reflected in the people's socialist consciousness.

The history of capitalism shows that at a definite stage the workers can already exist as a class, the members of which stand in the same relation to the means of production, have the same status in production and in society, the same objective common interests, and yet not be conscious of their common fundamental interests. The working class can be disunited by craft, by group interests; it can be split up by different ideologies: religious (Catholics, Protestants, Nonconformists, etc.), trade unionist, reformist. This has been the case in Germany, Great Britain and

the United States. Even today, the working class in these countries is disunited by the influence of bourgeois reformist ideology.

Only in the course of the struggle does the working class become conscious of its common fundamental interests, free itself of the influence of bourgeois ideology, and take its stand under the banner of its own socialist, Marxist ideology. Consequently, to achieve genuine unity, the working class must not only have a common status and interests, but must also become *conscious* of these common interests.

Under Socialism, to forge the moral and political unity of the people, it was necessary, first, to abolish the multiplicity of economic systems in the country, to abolish the exploiting classes and to ensure the undivided sway of the socialist mode of production in town and country. Second, it was necessary to defeat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology which is inimical to the working class and to all the working people, to ensure the undivided sway, the triumph, of Soviet, socialist ideology, of Marxism-Leninism, and make the entire people conscious of its common political aims. These aims are expressed by the Communist Party.

The moral and political unity of the Soviet people did not arise of its own accord; it arose in the struggle against the enemies of the people

waged under the leadership of the Party. This unity, this consciousness of common interests and aims, became a mighty force of development of socialist society. The potency of this force was demonstrated during the Great Patriotic War. Our enemies counted on the breakdown of this unity and tried to shake it; this unity not only resisted all these efforts and plans, but even grew and became stronger, it was tempered in the fire of war.

The friendship among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. also expresses the actual unity of the nations, peoples and nationalities that constitute the U.S.S.R. These actual relations of equality, fraternity and mutual aid between the nations and peoples are also reflected by the content of the socialist consciousness of our citizens.

In March 1948, Bidault, then France's Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking at a conference of sixteen countries on the Marshall Plan, said that some countries which in the past had come out under the banner of internationalism were now fighting against the limitation of the sovereignty of nations. This flunkey of American imperialism and betrayer of France's national interests wanted to lecture us on internationalism. The bourgeoisie of France and Italy and their political leaders are today betraying the national

and political sovereignty of their respective countries out of fear of their own peoples. The dialectics of historical development is such that the working class, the vehicle of proletarian internationalism, is today the leader of the peoples in the struggle for national independence against American imperialism.

The Soviet Union, which has actually applied the principle of socialist internationalism that has actually ensured the fraternity and equality of the Soviet nations, is naturally the bulwark of all the freedom-loving nations in their struggle for national state independence against American imperialism.

To be a consistent proletarian internationalist nowadays means fighting shoulder to shoulder with the working class of all countries, in the ranks of the freedom-loving peoples of all countries, against world reaction and its bulwark—the imperialism of the United States and Great Britain and their satellites. The Soviet people—the people which saved Europe from Hitler slavery—has been and remains true to the principles of socialist internationalism. The friendship, the fraternity of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. as the practical embodiment of the ideas of proletarian internationalism, is a powerful force of development of socialist society. The Lenin and Stalin policy pursued by the Socialist

State has led to the mighty efflorescence of our Soviet Republics. The socialist idea of the equality of nations has led to the economic, political, social and cultural efflorescence of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The imperialist theories and ideas of national and race exceptionalism lead to the enslavement of peoples, to their conversion into the slaves of the imperialist states, they lead to degradation, desolation and degeneration.

The socialist idea of the equality of races and peoples is a revolutionary, transforming force, which promotes the progress and all-round efflorescence of society.

A special place among the motive forces of our society is occupied by Soviet patriotism.

Patriotism is love for one's country, for one's people, expressed in work and deeds of heroism for the benefit of one's country. It is one of the profoundest sentiments inherent in the people, and it has its roots in past centuries. In bourgeois society, this noble feeling of love for one's country has been and is exploited by the ruling classes for their selfish interests, for the purpose of fomenting hostility and hatred among the peoples, among the different nations, in order to obscure, to gloss over the fundamental, decisive fact—the fundamental antagonism of interests of the exploiters and the exploited.

Soviet patriotism is a new phenomenon, unprecedented in history. It was born in the storm and flames of the battles in October 1917, in the period of the Civil War against the foreign interventionists and Russian Whiteguards, in the period of building Socialism, in the period when the people were transforming their land, their country, which they had won from the exploiters, when they, with loving hands, were creating new cities and industrial centres, when they were building their sovkhozes and kolkhozes, their railways, devoting to all this all their giant energy, all their heart and soul, all their best and most noble thoughts and sentiments.

Our country was fundamentally regenerated, transformed; it became a socialist country. And with this the people were fundamentally regenerated, transformed; their thoughts, their feelings, their entire spiritual make-up have changed. The peoples that constitute the U.S.S.R. differ in language, in certain traits of mentality, in national traditions and in their national historical past. But they all have one fundamental thing in common: they are all Soviet people, living in a *socialist*, Soviet country; they constitute one, fraternal family of *Soviet* peoples, they are united by a common sentiment—love for one common Motherland which is free of exploiters, love for our Soviet Land; they are united by a common

Soviet ideology which expresses their common status, their common interests, aims and strivings. Soviet patriotism is not only the love of the Russian people for the Russian nation, for the Russian people, for their language, culture, the sacred soil of their ancestors watered with their sweat and blood, for its boundless spaces, forests and fields, mighty rivers and lakes, its towns and villages; it is not only the love of the Ukrainians for their native Ukraine with its vast steppes and blue, cloudless sky, for their nation, their language, culture and beautiful songs; it is not only the love of the Georgians for their sunny Georgia, for its mountains and green valleys, its orchards, its swiftly flowing rivers, for their nation, culture, language, etc. Soviet patriotism, like an ocean, absorbs all these noble and lofty sentiments of all the numerous nations and peoples in our country; it does not destroy all this variety of sentiments and traditions of the different nations, just as the single, socialist culture does not destroy but preserves the variety of national forms of culture.

Soviet patriotism is deeper, grander and immeasurably stronger than the patriotism of the pre-Soviet past, in the same way as the socialist, Soviet social and political system and our Soviet ideology are superior to capitalism and its ideology. Soviet patriotism is the ardent love and

devotion of all Soviet people, of all the nations, to their common, free, socialist Motherland. For this deep sentiment, this idea, to arise, a revolution in social and political life, a fundamental economic, social and political transformation, a revolution in people's minds, in their mentality, had to take place. The relations between the nations had to undergo a fundamental change on the basis of the Lenin and Stalin policy; Soviet, socialist ideology had to become the prevailing ideology.

"The strength of Soviet patriotism lies in the fact that it is based not on racial or nationalistic prejudices, but upon the profound devotion and loyalty of the people to their Soviet Motherland, on the fraternal cooperation of the working people of all the nations inhabiting our country. Soviet patriotism is a harmonious blend of the national traditions of the peoples and the common vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union. Soviet patriotism does not disunite but unites all the nations and nationalities inhabiting our country in a single fraternal family. This should be regarded as the basis of the indestructible and ever-growing friendship that exists among the peoples of the Soviet Union."*

* J. V. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow 1946, p. 165.

The moral and political unity, the friendship among the nations, and virile Soviet patriotism, these motive forces of our society, mutually foster and reinforce each other. Although Soviet patriotism arose earlier than the moral and political unity of Soviet society, it acquired its present depth and breadth and significance as an immense motive force of the development of our Soviet society simultaneously with the creation of the moral and political unity of Soviet society and with the consolidation of the indestructible friendship among the nations of the U.S.S.R.

The strength of Soviet patriotism has engendered, and engenders today, miracles of mass heroism, the mighty creative energy of millions.

On November 6, 1944, when the Patriotic War was already drawing to a close, Comrade Stalin said: "The Soviet people denied themselves many necessities, voluntarily endured severe hardships, in order to provide more for the front. The unprecedented difficulties of the present war, far from breaking, still further steeled the iron will and courageous spirit of the Soviet people. Our people have justly earned fame as a heroic nation....

"Like the undying martial heroism displayed by our warriors on the battlefield, the labour heroism displayed by our Soviet people in the

rear springs from their ardent and virile Soviet patriotism."*

This virile Soviet patriotism, this love for our socialist country, the consciousness of one's sacred duty to society, were a mighty force that facilitated the winning of victory over the enemy. They enabled the Soviet people, in the course of two postwar years, to reach the prewar level of industrial production, to obtain already in 1947 a crop almost as big as a prewar crop, to set themselves and successfully carry out the task of fulfilling the postwar five-year plan ahead of time.

V

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL FORMS OF SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

In socialist consciousness, as in the social consciousness of preceding epochs, one must discern *social mentality and ideology*. The mentality of the Soviet people is the sum total of their sentiments, moods, customs, habits, inclinations, definite traits of character and turn of mind. The mentality of the Soviet people was moulded by the Soviet socialist relations of production. It was

* J. V. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow 1946, pp. 163-64, 165.

forged under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party. It absorbed in an altered shape, on the basis of Socialism, the best traits of the mentality of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., which these peoples had acquired in the course of their historical development, in the struggle against the exploiters, in battles against external enemies.

On the victorious termination of the Great Patriotic War, Comrade Stalin paid a high tribute to the Russian people as the leading force of the Soviet Union, and also to such of its traits as a clear mind, a staunch character and judicious patience. These traits were forged in the course of the entire history of our people, they were acquired in the course of the struggle against capitalism, and later, in the course of building socialist society under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

The mentality of the Soviet people differs fundamentally from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, individualist, private-property mentality, from the mentality of slavish dependence and oppression. The mentality of the Soviet people was moulded and developed under the influence of the ideas, the world outlook, of the Communist Party, under the influence of Soviet, socialist ideology.

Soviet, socialist ideology is fundamentally hostile to bourgeois ideology, the ideology of the

exploiting classes. It arose and developed as the ideological theoretical banner of the struggle the working class waged against capitalism. A critical, revolutionary, anticapitalist spirit constitutes its inherent substance.

The philosophical basis of socialist ideology is dialectical materialism—the scientific world outlook of the working class, of its party. This world outlook cannot be reconciled with any kind of superstition, religion, or idealism.

Within the integral socialist consciousness, the integral socialist ideology, one must discern the following component forms: a) Soviet science, b) Soviet political, law consciousness, c) Soviet morality, d) Soviet art, including literature. The forms of socialist consciousness, the forms of Soviet ideology, differ; but in character and content, Soviet, socialist ideology is one.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is the highest form of socialist consciousness. All other forms of socialist consciousness develop on the ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism as the prevailing scientific world outlook, the prevailing ideology.

The fundamental ideas that permeate all forms of socialist consciousness, that constitute its ideological wealth, are the great ideas of Socialism, Communism, the idea of Soviet, socialist democratism, socialist humanism, Soviet patriotism,

the idea of the friendship and fraternity of nations, the idea of socialist internationalism.

At the same time, while developing on a common basis, each of these forms of social consciousness—Soviet science, morality, law consciousness, literature and art—has its own specific purpose, plays its own specific role.

The role of science, morality, law consciousness, literature and art in our society differs fundamentally from that under capitalism because of the nature of the new social system, and of the new social nature of these forms of consciousness.

As is known, it was capitalism that first began consciously to apply the natural sciences to industry and, to a lesser extent, to agriculture. But under capitalism, science confronts the workers, the working people, as a hostile force, as an exploiting force, as an instrument for intensifying exploitation. Mental labour as a whole, and science as a component part of it, are both the monopoly of the exploiting class, and, as such, exist and develop in relation to the masses of the workers only as an antagonistic force. Today, capitalism is to an ever-increasing degree exploiting the natural sciences chiefly for war purposes, for destruction and not for construction. Under capitalism, science is converted into an instrument for the enslavement of the people, into an instrument of imperialist expansion. A vivid il-

lustration of this is provided by the utilization of atomic energy for the purposes of expansionist imperialist policy, for destroying civilian populations.

The socialist system has opened boundless opportunities for the development of science and for employing it in all spheres of economy and construction.

Soviet science is playing and will continue to play an increasingly important role in the development of our society. No other society has been so dependent upon the successes achieved in the development of science, of the natural sciences, as our Soviet society, its industry and agriculture. Here, every really new discovery in the natural sciences, in technology, every discovery that increases our power over nature and lightens the labour of millions, is and will be employed in production, and thereby accelerate the course of our development.

A discovery of modern science like atomic energy can be fully employed for peaceful purposes only in socialist society, which is interested in peace and in the unlimited development of the productive forces.

An example of the increasingly important role played by science is provided by the Stalin plan to plant tree belts to protect fields—the plan to ensure stable high crops.

One cannot help recalling the words of Lenin:

"Formerly, man's mind, his genius, was entirely devoted to the task of providing some with the benefits of technology and culture and of depriving others of what is most essential—enlightenment and development. Today, however, all the miracles of technology, the achievements of culture, will come within the reach of the entire people, and from now on man's mind and genius will not be converted into a means of violence, a means of exploitation. We know this—and is it not worth working for, worth devoting all our strength to the achievement of this greatest of historical tasks? And the working people will perform this titanic historical work, for in them are deposited the latent, great forces of revolution, regeneration and renovation."*

The Soviet State renders our scientists, our science, enormous assistance. And our Soviet scientists have proved by their deeds that the young Soviet science is advancing and will continue to advance with seven-league strides. Our Soviet scientists will without a doubt carry out the assignment of the Government and of Comrade Stalin to outpace in the near future the achievements of bourgeois science. All the conditions necessary for this exist in our country.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 3rd Russ. ed., Vol. XXII, p. 225.

An enormously important role in the development of our society is also played by the Soviet ideas *of law*. Law always expresses the economic relationships in society. Marxism teaches that jurisprudence is but the will of the ruling class made into a law. Soviet jurisprudence is the will of the working class, and today, of the entire Soviet people, made into a law. Soviet law is the conscious expression and confirmation of the rule of the workers and peasants.

Soviet law protects socialist property as the sacred and inviolable basis of Soviet society. It proclaims work as the duty and matter of honour of every able-bodied citizen, and proclaims the socialist principle of production and distribution: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." Soviet laws define the rights and duties of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. and they protect the rules of socialist intercourse.

The fundamental principles of Soviet law are embodied in the Stalin Constitution, which determines the trend, the spirit of all Soviet legislation, of the entire law consciousness of the citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Inseparably connected with Soviet law is Soviet socialist *morality*, which determines the standards of conduct of the Soviet people. Socialist morality determines the attitude of Soviet people towards each other, their attitude towards

labour, society, the state, the family. The more this morality permeates people's minds, the more it becomes a habit, the quicker will be our progress towards Communism. Socialist society presupposes not only persuasion, but also coercion. As long as there are people who shirk their work, who strive to put the burden of work upon others, to take from society as much as possible and to give it as little as possible, coercion is necessary. Under Socialism, the state and society must strictly control the measure of labour and the measure of consumption. But we are marching towards Communism. The gradual transition from Socialism to Communism presupposes the gradual raising of the cultural level of the workers and peasants to that of engineers and agronomists, it presupposes the abolition of the distinction between mental and manual labour, the raising of communist consciousness to the level where communist labour will have become a habit, a primary necessity of life of the healthy human being. This means that the rules of communist intercourse will become a habit.

Lenin said that the force of the old habits inherited from bourgeois society, the force of the habits of millions of people, is a terrible force. But the habits inculcated by the new, socialist, and later, communist mode of life, will become

a most powerful force for the development of communist society.

An outstanding role in moulding and developing mass socialist consciousness, in the communist education of the masses, is played by *Soviet literature and art*. Developing on the soil of the Soviet system, Soviet literature and art express the ideas of Socialism, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, our world outlook, in the specific form that is characteristic of them, in the form of artistic images. If the lofty, progressive ideas of our society, of our people, of the Communist Party, find an adequate, perfect form of expression in art, then the influence exercised by such works of art is irreplaceable.

Art (including literature as one of the forms of art) is able to influence such parts of the human mind as other forms of ideology are not always able to reach. Art affects not only people's reason, but also their feelings, their emotions; it educates them and thereby influences people's conduct, their social life and activities.

Art has always played an enormously important role in society; but in Soviet society, where it has come within the reach of all, where it is placed at the service of the entire people, of the whole of society, the importance of its role in the life and development of society has grown enormously.

Not only Soviet literature and art, which express the most progressive ideas of the present day, but the classical art of the past also plays today an immeasurably more important role in the life of socialist society, in the development of the minds and culture of the masses, than it played in landlord-serf, or in bourgeois society, where it arose and developed.

Classical Russian literature really came within the reach of the people only after the Great October Socialist Revolution. Pushkin and Lermontov, Gogol and Tolstoy, Belinsky and Turgenev, Chekhov and Gorky acquired their many millions of readers only as a result of the cultural revolution that was brought about by the Soviet system.

Under Socialism, where the ideological, cultural education of the people is one of the most important functions of the socialist state, literature and art are not a private, but a most important state, public matter. Art and literature have always served political aims, but in bourgeois society this is hypocritically concealed by the bourgeois ideologists. Even formalism, the plea that art is non-political, has had and still has a political significance in bourgeois society, for its purpose is to divert the minds of the masses of the people from urgent political problems. In our country, Soviet, socialist art and

literature have served and are serving the great aims of Communism, the policy of the Soviet state and of the Communist Party. The history of mankind has known no greater, more lofty, more noble or more progressive aims than these. They are the source of the inspired labour and ideological creativeness of the Soviet people. The conscious serving of these aims is the source of the efflorescence of our art and literature.

Innumerable ties inseverably bind the Soviet writer with his millions of readers. In our country, the progressive writer expresses the sentiments, moods and thoughts of millions; he expresses all that is best and progressive among the people, in the country.

That is why a writer must be conscious of the enormous moral responsibility he bears to the people for every one of his works, for every image he portrays, for every line, for every word he writes.

That is why the Bolshevik Party, its Central Committee, has so severely condemned the non-politicalness, the formalism, of some of our writers and artists, who showed subservience to foreign bourgeois culture and forgot their duty to their country. The Party ruthlessly denounces and exposes the cosmopolitans without a country —those enemy saboteurs on the ideological front.

* * *

Thus, the importance of the role played by social consciousness in the development of socialist society is immeasurably enhanced. Here, for the first time in history, the leap has been taken from the kingdom of blind necessity into the kingdom of freedom.

Of course, in socialist society too, historical necessity operates in its development; there are objective laws which society cannot ignore or abolish. But these objective laws of social development are controlled by men; society consciously utilizes them in its activities. This is one of the characteristic features of the new social laws that distinguish socialist society from capitalist society.

As a consequence, under Socialism, a change takes place in the operation of those forces which give rise to the spontaneous development of production, and to which Comrade Stalin referred in his work *Dialectical and Historical Materialism.*

Describing the third characteristic feature of production, Comrade Stalin wrote: "... the rise of new productive forces and of the relations of production corresponding to them does not take place separately from the old system, after the disappearance of the old system, but within the old system; it takes place not as a result of the deliberate and conscious activity of man, but spontaneously, unconsciously, independently of

the will of man. It takes place spontaneously and independently of the will of man for two reasons.

"Firstly, because men are not free to choose one mode of production or another, because as every new generation enters life it finds productive forces and relations of production already existing as the result of the work of former generations, owing to which it is obliged at first to accept and adapt itself to everything it finds ready-made in the sphere of production in order to be able to produce material values.

"Secondly, because, when improving one instrument of production or another, one element of the productive forces or another, men do not realize, do not understand or stop to reflect what *social* results these improvements will lead to, but only think of their everyday interests, of lightening their labour and of securing some direct and tangible advantage for themselves."*

Here Comrade Stalin gives us a general characterization of the laws governing the rise and development of productive forces and relations of production. To what extent does this apply to Socialism, to the conditions of development of productive forces and relations of production in socialist society?

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* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 592.

As is known, the productive forces necessary for the transition to Socialism arose, in the main, spontaneously in the womb of capitalism. The working class was unable to change at will the capitalist mode of production and create the socialist mode of production until the material conditions necessary for this had arisen. In socialist society too, the new generation finds an already arisen and existing mode of production, productive forces and relations of production. To develop these further, the new generation must first master the existing productive forces, the instruments of labour; it must start from what has been achieved. This economic, material necessity exists here too, independently of the will of man. That is why we cannot at will skip a definite stage of development, for example, from the artel to the commune, from the first to the second phase of Communism. For this transition it is necessary to create the required material conditions, to reach the necessary level of productive forces and productivity of labour.

Nevertheless, in our country, the productive forces and relations of production created by preceding generations do not confront man as an alien force spontaneously thrust upon him. More than a hundred years ago the founders of scientific Socialism wrote: "Communism differs from all previous movements in that it overturns the

basis of all earlier relations of production and intercourse, and for the first time consciously treats all natural premises as the creatures of men, strips them of their natural character and subjugates them to the power of individuals united."*

Well, how do matters stand as regards the producers realizing what the social results are of the changes they introduce in the instruments of production?

In capitalist society, new technical and scientific discoveries are often a misfortune for the workers, because they push them out of the process of production. By virtue of the very character of the capitalist mode of production, and of bourgeois society as a whole, every new technical and scientific discovery may and does lead to consequences totally undesirable for the majority, for they serve the selfish interests of the exploiting classes.

Under Socialism, every discovery and invention comes under society's control, serves the interests of the whole of the people. From the experience gained from the fulfilment of preceding Stalin five-year plans, every intelligent worker and kolkhoznik knows and appreciates the social significance of his labour; he knows that the ful-

* K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York 1939, p. 70.

filment of the five-year plans is dependent upon the conscientious efforts of every working man and woman, of every factory, mine, kolkhoz and sovkhoz.

This, however, does not mean that, under Socialism, every worker, kolkhoznik, or even Stakhanovite, can himself foresee all the *social* results of the various improvements made in the instruments or methods of production. The initiators of the Stakhanov movement, of that great movement of our epoch, did not themselves foresee the entire scope and social significance of the new turn in the socialist emulation movement which they themselves initiated. Comrade Stalin said:

"What first of all strikes the eye is the fact that this movement began somehow of itself, almost spontaneously, from below, without any pressure whatsoever from the administrators of our enterprises. More than that—this movement in a way arose and began to develop in spite of the administrators of our enterprises, even in opposition to them."*

The Stakhanov movement swept over the entire face of the Soviet Union with hurricane speed quite unexpectedly for its initiators. "It even seems to me," said Comrade Stalin, "that they are somewhat embarrassed by the scope the

* J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 530.

movement has acquired, beyond all their expectations."*

The Stakhanov movement could arise and spread with almost elemental force because the conditions for it had fully matured, because the ground for it had been prepared by the whole course of development of Soviet society, by the development of industry, the improvement in technology, and by the rise in the material and cultural level of the working class. At the same time, the ground for the Stakhanov movement was consciously prepared by the actions of the socialist state and the Communist Party. The Party's slogan to master technology was a call to the advanced workers, and the latter ardently responded to it.

Two years before the Stakhanov movement arose, the Party, through its leader, Comrade Stalin, stated that in building new factories with the most up-to-date equipment we had carried out only half our task, that the fervour of building new factories must be supplemented with the fervour of mastering them. The Stakhanov movement was a response to that call of the Party.

Comrade Stalin's speech at the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites gave the Stakhanovites, and the whole of the people, a clear under-

* *Ibid.*, p. 531.

standing of the social significance and prospects of the Stakhanov movement, of its significance for the building of the new society, for raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to that of engineers and technicians, for the transition to Communism.

While each individual worker, inventor or scientist is unable *fully* to appreciate the social importance and significance of his discovery, invention, improvement in the instruments of labour or change in methods of production, the Communist Party, equipped with the Marxist-Leninist theory, makes possible an all-round appraisal of the creative initiative shown by individual workers, scientists and inventors, it makes it possible for this initiative to be taken up and directed.

Even under Socialism, the individual member of society is unable to grasp *all,* the *sum total* of phenomena that take place in the country. But knowledge of the laws of social development enables our Party to grasp the logic of social development, enables it to foresee the immediate as well as the remote consequences of various social events. And not simply foresee (it is possible to foresee even under the conditions of the spontaneous development of society). The most important thing is that, under Socialism, the state, the Party, the Soviet people, guided by their

knowledge of the laws of social development, are able to direct the whole course of social development. Herein lies the strength and significance of our Party, of scientific theory, of socialist consciousness.

The Communist Party, being the most advanced and most politically conscious section of the Soviet people, is constantly developing and widening the consciousness of the Soviet people, enables them to grasp more widely the significance of our work of construction, of our development. The Communist Party indicates not only the final goal of the movement—Communism, but also the road, the stages leading to that goal. The Party reveals the nature of the difficulties that stand in the way of building Communism and always indicates the reliable, scientifically grounded means of surmounting them.

But the Party not only teaches the people, it also learns from them. The millions of people who are creating the new mode of life have accumulated a vast stock of experience. Our Party is strong by virtue of its connection with the people, in the same way as the legendary Antaeus was strong by virtue of his connection with Mother Earth. While the Party, thanks to its scientific theory, reveals the laws of motion of our society, reveals the inherent connection between phenomena and shows the people the

prospects of development, the people, on their part—the workers, kolkhozniks and the intellectuals—thanks to their active, intelligent attitude towards their work, help the Party, the Soviet state, to see and remove numerous defects in our work and in our life.

VI

THE ROLE OF SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OLD AND OBSOLETE

In our socialist society there are no longer any hostile classes, no antagonistic contradictions; but here too development proceeds through the conflict between the new and the survivals of the old, between the nascent, the developing and the progressive on the one hand, and the old and obsolete on the other. The new and progressive have already won complete victory all along the line in our country; but for the time being remnants of the old are everywhere preserved in the new.

The old is represented by private-property tendencies in some kolkhozes, by elements of profiteering in the market, by private-property survivals, by the striving of backward people to take from the state or kolkhoz as much as pos-

sible and to give as little as possible, by survivals of nationalism, by survivals of bureaucracy in certain links of the state apparatus, by religious survivals in the minds of the most backward strata of the working people, by survivals of subservience to the bourgeois West among a section of our intelligentsia.

The ideology of cosmopolitanism is the ideological banner of Anglo-American imperialism. The despicable cosmopolitans who have been exposed by the Party are enemy agents. To combat cosmopolitanism and the cosmopolitans is a political task of the first degree.

One of the most important methods of exposing and overcoming the old and of firmly establishing and developing the new is honest, bold, straightforward and sharp Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism are mighty weapons in the hands of the Party for exposing defects in our economy, in the state apparatus, in science, in literature and art, in all spheres of the life and activity of socialist society. Self-criticism is a powerful means of enlisting the masses in the task of managing the economy, of administering the country, the state; it is a powerful means of bringing the conscious influence of the people to bear upon the course of social life, of social development. In our country, self-criticism and criticism have

been and are powerful ideological and political instruments in the hands of the Party for removing defects in our social life and work, combating survivals of the old, surmounting difficulties, eliminating contradictions in our development and for promoting progress.

Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism have served and now serve the Party as means of intensifying vigilance in its own ranks and among the Soviet people. Bolshevik criticism has made and now makes it possible constantly to quicken the political activity of the Soviet people and to develop in them the feeling that they are the masters of the country. Bolshevik self-criticism helps to train the Soviet people to administer the country.

Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism embrace all spheres of our social life and activity, from production and the state apparatus, to problems of esthetics, literature, art, music and philosophy.

Criticism and self-criticism are a law of our development, a new, unprecedented law of social development.

Comrade Zhdanov said: "In our Soviet society, where antagonistic classes have been abolished, the struggle between the new and the old, and consequently, development from the lower to the higher, proceeds not in the form of a struggle between antagonistic classes and of cata-

clysms, as is the case under capitalism, but in the form of criticism and self-criticism, which are a genuine motive force of our development, powerful instruments in the hands of the Party. They are undoubtedly a new form of motion, a new type of development, a new dialectical law."*

This is a new type of the conscious, systematic surmounting of the difficulties and contradictions of our development and growth. It reveals the fundamentally new role that progressive ideas, progressive consciousness, play in the development of Soviet society.

The Central Committee of the Party sets us all examples of how to develop constructive self-criticism on the ideological front. Cliqueism, philistinism, unprincipledness and non-politicalness made it possible for alien elements to busy themselves with impunity in the field of Soviet literature and to smuggle into it ideas that are hostile to Socialism and to the Soviet people. With the aid of the sharp weapon of Bolshevik criticism the Party exposed the defects in the fields of literature, the theatre, the cinema and in music, and helped the workers in the field of Soviet art to move forward.

* A. A. Zhdanov, *Speech During the Debate on G. F. Alexandrov's Book*, Russ. ed., p. 40.

By the debate arranged on Comrade Alexandrov's book *A History of West-European Philosophy*, the Central Committee of the Party set workers on the scientific front an example of how to develop constructive Bolshevik self-criticism in this field, irrespective of persons. The Central Committee revealed cases of bourgeois objectivism and of non-politicalness in the work on the philosophical front, and cases of subservience to bourgeois science and philosophy.

The Party routed the bourgeois-idealist trend in biology—the Morganist-Weismannists—and cleared the road for the development of the Soviet, Michurin trend in biology.

The survivals of capitalism in people's minds is a hindrance to our development. If bourgeois influence on the ideological front is not liquidated, it will be impossible to ensure the efflorescence of literature and art, the development of economic science and philosophy.

The rapid development of our economy, our political successes, the tasks connected with the transition to Communism and the extremely important tasks connected with the communist education of the working people that have come right into the forefront at the present time—all present special demands to all the workers on the ideological front.

The efflorescence of the ideological super-

structure must fully keep pace with the rapid development of socialist economy; and this efflorescence is promoted by Bolshevik self-criticism and uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology and all its diverse manifestations

* * *

As has already been said above, the victory of Socialism marks the opening of a new historical epoch, in which social development is directed planfully and consciously.

But can it be said that the spontaneous processes in social life, in economic and social development, have already entirely disappeared in Soviet, socialist society? No, of course not. These processes have not yet disappeared. This is shown, for example, by the cases discovered before the war, and again in 1946, of the misappropriation of kolkhoz land and property, cases of excessive enlargement of private garden plots and subsidiary undertakings in kolkhozes to the detriment of public, kolkhoz farming.

These cases show that although our socialist society is already developing on its own basis, the elemental processes, the survivals of petty-bourgeois relations and petty-bourgeois, property mentality, have not yet been entirely eliminated. Had not the Central Committee of the Party and the Government opportunely exposed these proc-

esses that are inimical to Socialism, to public, kolkhoz farming, they might have led to extremely regrettable consequences, to the breakup of those kolkhozes in which the misappropriation of kolkhoz land and the inflation of subsidiary undertakings had occurred.

That is why the Communist Party and Comrade Stalin teach us that spontaneity, drift, is the enemy of Socialism. Party and Soviet leaders who allow things to drift, who fail to direct economic development in the Bolshevik way, who wait until circumstances hit them in the nose, sorry leaders of this kind can ruin, cause the collapse of public, socialist economy. The Party demands that its cadres should exercise Bolshevik leadership on the basis of a scientific study of the processes that go on in economic and social life.

The integral, complicated process of socialist economic development still feels the effect of contradictory tendencies. Our development, the development of the new, the socialistic, proceeds in conflict with the old, the presocialistic.

This old, which is inimical to Socialism, manifests itself in different forms, including the struggle waged by the remnants and survivals of the old against the fundamental principle of Socialism, against socialist planning, against state and labour discipline, etc. These survivals of the old express themselves in a striving to allow

elements of spontaneity and drift in work to run counter to the plan.

Elements of spontaneity in economic life also exist in the sphere of kolkhoz trade, in the formation of market prices. Here, the planning, organizing, directing function of the socialist state is exercised by means of its stocks of commodities, by means of its entire economic policy. But in view of the fact that these stocks of commodities are still limited, the movement of prices in the kolkhoz market is at times determined by demand and supply. As Soviet trade develops, however, as the stocks of commodities in the hands of the state increase, the spontaneous processes in the kolkhoz market are overcome and will be finally overcome.

Nor must we lose sight of a factor that exercises a certain influence on the Land of Socialism, such as the capitalist encirclement. This capitalist encirclement compels us always to keep our powder dry. Upon us, the Soviet people, the socialist state and the Communist Party, lay the duty of securing the defensive power of our country, of creating everything that was needed to rout any aggressor. Stalin's wise foreign policy secured for the Soviet people the possibility of peaceful construction, secured the peaceful respite that was needed for building socialist society. This wise and farsighted Stalin policy delayed to the

utmost the period of military collisions. Scientific foresight enabled us to frustrate the cunning plans of our enemies and thereby to delay the war. But we could not avert all possibility of an aggressive war against the Land of Socialism at that time. That did not depend upon our will and consciousness.

Today, after our victory in the war, after we have routed the two chief aggressor states in the West and in the East, with the rise of the People's Democracies, with the upswing of the mass, working-class, democratic movement, the relation of forces in the international arena has changed. Today, all the forces of progress, relying on the U.S.S.R. as the bulwark of peace, are in a position to curb the aggressors. But this demands an uncompromising struggle against reaction, against the incendiaries of war. To insure ourselves fully against all contingencies, against surprises on the part of the capitalist encirclement, we must carry out the extensive program of economic construction that has been indicated by the Party and Comrade Stalin.

"As regards long-term plans," said Comrade Stalin, "our Party intends to organize another powerful uplift of our national economy that will enable us to raise our industry to a level, say, three times as high as that of prewar industry. We must see to it that our industry shall be able

to produce annually up to 50,000,000 tons of pig iron, up to 60,000,000 tons of steel, up to 500,000,000 tons of coal and up to 60,000,000 tons of oil. Only when we succeed in doing that can we be sure that our Motherland will be insured against all contingencies. This will need, perhaps, another three five-year plans, if not more. But it can be done, and we must do it."* It is this great task, which coincides with our final aim—the creation of communist society—that our people are now carrying out.

The policy of the Soviet State, of the Communist Party, is the conscious guidance of socialist society. This policy directs, ensures our progress towards Communism. The success of this policy depends upon the degree of socialist consciousness of the Soviet people. Our society rests upon the conscious independent efforts of the people, upon their creative initiative.

"In our opinion a state is strong by virtue of the consciousness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, can form an opinion on everything and do everything consciously."**

* J. V. Stalin, *Speech Delivered at an Election Meeting in the Stalin Election District, Moscow, Feb. 9, 1946,* Moscow 1946, p. 20.

** V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works,* Two-Vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow 1947, p. 234.

In the U.S.S.R., the workers, peasants and intellectuals are the complete masters of their country. They are the decisive force in society. Consciousness of this status fills our people with just pride. The Communist Party has always taught our people to be conscious of their gigantic strength, of their creative power, of their ability to administer the state, to mould the destiny of their country, the destiny of history. While achieving successes in the building of Socialism, performing great historical deeds, making history, the Soviet people at the same time became imbued with the consciousness of their really gigantic strength.

The nation's, the working people's consciousness of their real strength and of the part they are playing in the building of the new socialist society and in the administration of their state has been and is a most powerful factor in our development.

The characteristic features of socialist consciousness, the consciousness of the most progressive class, the working class, of the most progressive people in the world, the Soviet people, are vigour, cheerfulness, optimism, confidence in the triumph of Communism all over the world.

One of the characteristic features of the consciousness, of the reactionary ideology of the

bourgeoisie today is pessimism, uncertainty, fear of the future. Walter W. Van Kirk, in his book *Religion and the World of Tomorrow*, published in Chicago, writes: "In times of crisis a mood of despair fastens itself upon the minds of human beings. The phantom spectres of fear and panic stalk through the land and we are terrified. Forebodings of an impending catastrophe possess us and we are sore afraid. We tremble as the earth shakes with the hammer blows of armies on the march." And Harold Titus, in his book *What Is a Mature Morality?*, published in New York in 1943, writes: "... we live in an age of uncertainty and confusion in which many of the things that men" (i.e., the bourgeoisie—*F.K.*) "desire and love seem to be threatened with destruction.... Clearly we face a crisis that is deeper and more serious than most people realize. The existence of civilization hangs in the balance."

John Dewey writes that a recent American writer proposed the organization of "a confraternity of pessimists who should live together in some sort of social oasis."

The spirit of most reactionary mysticism, dark obscurantism and black pessimism permeates the book by the Dean of the Department of Sociology of Harvard University P. Sorokin, whose works are boosted by the United States press. One of these books is entitled: *The Crisis*

of Our Age. Another is entitled: *Man and Society in Calamity.* In the latter, Sorokin writes: "We live amidst one of the greatest crises in human history. Not only war, famine and pestilence, but a legion of other calamities are rampant over the whole world. All values are unsettled; all norms are broken. Mental, moral, esthetic, and social anarchy reigns supreme. Millions of human beings are killed. The crisis is omnipresent and involves almost the whole of culture and society from top to bottom. It is manifest in the fine arts and science, in philosophy and religion, in ethics and law. It permeates the forms of social, economic, and political organization and the entire way of living and thinking...." Describing the prospects of postwar development, Sorokin goes on to say: "In this social 'earthquake' not only will separate individuals be transposed *en masse* from one social stratum to another, but whole social classes will bodily fall or rise. Furthermore, the pyramid of social stratification itself will be damaged and mutilated...."

Such are the gloomy prospects of development depicted for the bourgeoisie by its ideologist. What is the way out? Why do the American bourgeoisie and its press praise Sorokin's books so highly? Firstly, because of the remedies that he recommends to the peoples as a way out of calamities and crises. The following, for example, is

the remedy this obscurantist sociologist proposes to heal the capitalist world which is being shaken by wars, crises and class battles:

"...The shortest, the most efficient, and the only practical way of really alleviating and shortening the crisis is by reintegrating its religious, moral, scientific, philosophical and other values. This reintegration must be effected in such a way that the new system of values is rooted not only in the noblest values of this sensory world, but primarily in the values of moral duty and the kingdom of God. Until this is done, all the wars, revolutions, political and economic machinations, 'scientific advice,' and 'technological devices' will help but little."

And magnificent for its cynicism is the conclusion:

"The best way out of the crisis was marvelously formulated a long time ago"... and this learned flunkey of the reactionary bourgeoisie goes on to quote the Bible: " 'Therefore, I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness.' "

Recommending this book by the learned obscurantist and reactionary, *The New York Herald Tribune* wrote that it ought to become a handbook "in every American home."

P. Sorokin does not, of course, address his advice to the American billionaires who have amassed fortunes out of the blood and suffering of the peoples of Europe. No, he addresses it to the workers who are fighting for higher wages, for bread and clothing for their children; he addresses it to the peoples who have been robbed and ruined by the fascist, imperialist robbers.

Great Lenin said that the bourgeoisie needs two functions to maintain its rule: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest. It needs the hangman for the purpose of forcibly suppressing the anger of the exploited workers; and it needs the priest in order to dope the minds of the masses, to corrupt their spirit, to reconcile them to the existing capitalist system. The American and European bourgeoisie make full use of the function of the hangman against their people; they forcibly suppress the fighting workers and peasants with the aid of clubs, automatic guns, tear gas, tanks and aircraft. And they also utilize the services of learned priests who advise the millions of workers, and working people generally, to take no thought for food and drink, for clothing for their bodies, and for houses to live in, but to think only of the kingdom of God, of their souls and spiritual "values."

At the present time, when everywhere, in all countries, a revaluation of values is going on, when the mass democratic movement is growing, and the working people, led by the working class, is fighting for Socialism, freedom and independence and against reaction, the imperialist bourgeoisie of the United States and Great Britain is resorting more and more to bloody violence and murder, to arrogant threats to use atomic bombs against peoples and countries who refuse to live according to the dictates of Wall Street. A frank expression of the essence of the world outlook and policy of the American bourgeoisie was the speech delivered by Dorn, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives and one of the most frenzied instigators of war against the U.S.S.R. At a session of the House when the Marshall Plan was being discussed, he said: "I believe in the policy of a shot-gun in one hand and a Bible in the other." To all the countries that are the objects of imperialist expansion, the United States bourgeoisie is sending both guns and Bibles, but guns in ever-increasing quantities, to arm the blackest antipopular forces and the most reactionary regimes. But the more the bourgeoisie resorts to violence, the more it brandishes the sword, the more the ground shakes beneath its feet. While trying to frighten others, the imperialist bourgeoisie of the United States

and other countries is itself full of fear and alarm for the future.

A representative of the American bourgeoisie, Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, wrote that when he looks into the future it seems to him to be terrifying. The American bourgeoisie stands face to face with a question, an answer to which it cannot evade. This question, according to Fosdick, is: Can science and technology be placed under control? And he asks in alarm: Will man subordinate to his will the forces that he has himself created or fall a victim to them?

Toiling mankind will undoubtedly subordinate the productive forces, the forces of science and technology to its will, to its power. It will do so after abolishing capitalism and the bourgeoisie, after taking the destiny of historical development into its own hands. Thereby it will open unlimited prospects for the development of science and technology, will use them for the benefit of the peoples, of the working people, in the interests of peace and not of war. This prospect cannot please the reactionary bourgeoisie and its ideologists, but it is inevitable, as inevitable as the rising of the sun in the east.

In contrast to the gloomy pessimism of the bourgeoisie and its ideologists stands the socialist conciousness of the Soviet people, the social-

ist consciousness of the working class in capitalist countries, imbued with unshakable faith in the inevitable victory of Communism, in the justice of our sacred, popular cause, the cause of Lenin and Stalin. This unshakable faith in the strength, the might and the invincibility of the Land of Socialism, in its unlimited possibilities of development, this faith in the triumph of Communism all over the world rests on a scientific foundation. It permeates every page of the great works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. This faith, this spirit of socialist optimism, was expressed by Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov when he said:

"Today the united forces of democracy and Socialism, in Europe and outside Europe together, are incomparably stronger than the opposing antidemocratic camp of imperialism.

"Capitalism has become a brake on human progress, and the continuation of the reckless policy of imperialism, which has already brought about two world wars, constitutes the major danger to the peace-loving nations. The Great October Socialist Revolution has opened the eyes of the nations to the fact that the age of capitalism is drawing to a close, and that reliable roads have been opened to general peace and the great progress of nations. The convulsive efforts of imperialism, under which the ground is swaying, will

not save capitalism from its approaching doom. We are living in an age in which all roads lead to Communism....

"Great Stalin has led and is leading our people along the glorious path to Communism....

"The Soviet people march in the vanguard of progressive humanity, full of faith in the lofty aims of the October Revolution."*

This spirit of profound, boundless faith in the victory of Communism permeates the minds of the Soviet people. It is the deepest source of our invincible strength.

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* V. M. Molotov, *XXX Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Moscow 1947, pp. 35-36.

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